THE "JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE"

A NEW FACE FOR REACTION

HYMAN LUMER

35¢

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Hyman Lumer was born in Brooklyn, N.Y. in 1909. He began his career as a biologist, earning his Ph.D. in that subject at Western Reserve University in Cleveland in 1935. He later taught the subject there, and at Fenn College, also in Cleveland, where he headed the biology department.

After leaving Fenn College in 1947, he served as Educational Director of the Ohio-Kentucky district of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union until 1950.

In the 1950s he was prosecuted under the anti-Communist section of the infamous Taft-Hartley Act, and served a prison sentence as a result.

Dr. Lumer is widely known as a writer, teacher and lecturer on political and economic subjects, and is the author of numerous books, pamphlets and articles. Among his more recent works are the pamphlets *"Soviet Anti-Semitism"—A Cold War Myth* (1964), *Which Way Israel?* (1966), *The Middle East Crisis* (1967), *What Happened in Poland* (1969), and *Israel Today: War or Peace?* (1970).

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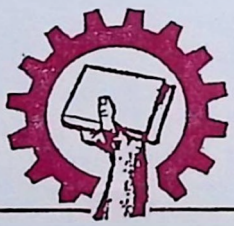
ISBN 0-87898-072-5



Published by
NEW OUTLOOK PUBLISHERS
32 Union Square East • Room 801 • New York, N.Y. 10003
August 1971
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

A Fascist Gang

A few years ago there appeared on the streets of the Williamsburg and Crown Heights sections of Brooklyn, New York, gangs of young Orthodox Jews wearing blue berets, uniforms and brass insignia, and armed with chains and baseball bats. Their declared mission was to protect Jewish residents of these areas from muggings, holdups and other acts of violence and terror at the hands of Black assailants. Jews, they maintained, were being made objects of violence and crime *because* they were Jews (totally ignoring the fact that the great majority of victims of crime in such communities are not Jewish but Black). These racist vigilante gangs were the forerunners of the so-called "Jewish Defense League," organized in 1968 by the notorious Rabbi Meir Kahane.

From these unsavory beginnings the Jewish Defense League has emerged as a body of young fascist hoodlums reminiscent of Hitlerite stormtroopers. It claims a membership of some 15,000, chiefly in New York but also in a number of other cities. It has chapters on a number of college campuses. "They concede, however," writes David A. Andelman in the *New York Times* (January 17, 1971), "that they put on the membership list virtually anyone who sends them a sympathetic letter, much less the annual dues of $18 for an adult or $5 for a student. The hard core of trained cadres, however, numbers only a few hundred."

The training of this fascist hard core consists largely of taking lessons in Karate and spending vacations at a Camp Jedel where they receive military training. But many others are involved in activities organized by the JDL, particularly teen-age members of an organization calling itself Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry.

Kahane and some of his cohorts were formerly members of Betar, the youth division of Herut, the extreme Right-wing party in Israel headed by Menachem Begin. In Israel, Betar plays the same fascist, hoodlum role as the JDL does here, accompanied by other such groups calling themselves "Organization for the Suppression of Traitors," "Jewish Defense League," etc. These have to their "credit" such exploits as assaults on student groups

and peace meetings, as well as a Betar raid on the offices of the Israeli Communist Party newspaper *Zo Haderekh*, in which a woman editorial worker was seriously injured and much vandalism committed.

The Jewish people, according to the JDL, are in grave danger of extinction. A leaflet issued some time ago declares:

We Are Talking of JEWISH SURVIVAL!
Anti-Semitism is exploding in the United States.
Revolutionary Leftist groups—hostile to Israel and Jewishness—are capturing young people's minds and destroying law and order.
Right-wing extremism is growing at an alarming rate.
Anti-Semitic Black racists are battling for control of the cities.

But it is not Right-wing extremism that concerns the JDL. The two main threats to the existence of the Jewish people, in its view, are the Black militants—those whom they refer to as "anti-Semitic Black racists"—and the Soviet Union. And it has gone forth in typical gangster fashion to do battle against both. Of late its chief stock-in-trade has increasingly been anti-Sovietism, and its attacks have been centered on Soviet institutions, personnel and cultural events in this country, as well as on the Left here, particularly the Communist Party. At the same time it has continued its racist offensive against Black Americans. But it has done nothing to fight against the real Right-wing reactionary sources of rabid anti-Semitism in this country, despite the one instance of a token demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan in New Jersey.

Spearhead of Anti-Sovietism and Racism

The JDL is consumed wtih a venomous hatred of the Soviet Union as an alleged persecutor of Jews. Its avowed aim in life is to get as many Soviet Jews out of the USSR as possible, and it declares that it will stop at nothing to achieve this end. Its "Ten Point Emergency Program for Soviet Jewry" calls for an immediate end to all talks with the USSR, including disarm-

ament, space, cultural and trade talks; an embargo on trade with the USSR and a boycott of firms dealing with it; an end to all tourism and to all cultural and sports exchanges; and the banning of the USSR from the Olympics and from all international organizations. It calls for harassment of Soviet officials, for unceasing demonstrations at Soviet installations, for sit-downs, chainings and other such acts.

In short, the JDL calls for the breaking off of all relations with the Soviet Union and its treatment as the arch-enemy of the American people. Indeed, in the words of Kahane, the aim is nothing less than "to provoke a crisis in U.S.-Soviet relations." That such a crisis brings with it a greatly heightened danger of nuclear war seems to disturb Kahane and his followers not in the least. Apparently, in their view, if nuclear war is required to "liberate" the Soviet Jews, so be it.

In pursuit of this insane aim there has taken place a series of outrages ranging from disruption of concerts by Soviet performers to invasion by JDL gangs of the offices of Soviet institutions such as the Tass news agency and the Amtorg Trading Corporation, causing considerable damage to the premises and inflicting physical injuries on the employees. And in January 1971 the JDL launched a campaign of systematic harassment of Soviet diplomats in this country.

But this evoked so great a storm of revulsion and protest that Kahane was compelled, at least for the time being, to call the harassment off. Later, according to the *New York Times* (May 19, 1971), he declared: "A Soviet diplomat is not our guest. He is not a mere tourist. A Soviet diplomat here, if we can help it, will not walk these streets no matter who is there, no matter who wants to help him."

It has also directed its attention to pro-Soviet organizations and institutions in this country. A JDL gang forced its way into the offices of the *Daily World*, a newspaper which expresses the views of the Communist Party, threatening its staff and forcing them to listen to a lecture on Soviet Jewry. Other gangs have raided the offices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, causing considerable damage to equipment and records.

The foregoing are exploits in which the JDL was openly involved. In addition, there have been others which it has praised but for which it has publicly denied responsibility. Among them are the bombing of the Aeroflot and Intourist offices in New York, of a Soviet office and residence building in Washington, D. C., and of the national headquarters of the Communist Party in New York. Of course, it is hardly to be expected that anyone will publicly admit to bombings. But there is very good reason to believe that the JDL is connected with these particluar instances. Among other things, in May of this year Kahane and six other JDL members were indicted in Federal Court in Brooklyn, New York, on charges of conspiring to transport a large arsenal of weapons across state lines and "to make, receive and possess explosive and incendiary devices."

Subsequently Kahane and two other defendants, in a deal reported as "top level," pleaded guilty to the charge of conspiring to manufacture explosives. And quantities of explosives were afterward brought to light. Kahane told newsmen he and his followers would not be deterred from using explosives against Soviet installations if they felt it necessary.

The JDL also plays the role of a spearhead of extreme racism and chauvinism. Among its earliest claims to notoriety were its attacks on Black militants.

In May 1969, when James Forman, author of the *Black Manifesto,* announced that he would appear at Temple Emanuel in New York to ask for reparations for the Black people, a JDL gang lined up in front of the temple, armed with chains, sticks, pipes and baseball bats to prevent him from speaking. As it happened, Forman did not appear. Shortly afterwards, when Muhammad Kenyatta spoke—by invitation—at the Main Line Temple in Philadelphia, a similar gang was on hand which, as he left, threatened him with violence should he ever return. Other exploits include an attempted attack on Black Panther Party headquarters in Harlem.

Since these incidents the JDL has done its utmost to sow dissension between Black and white and to create a lynch spirit against Black Americans. Its most recent outrage, perpetrated in May of this year, was a physical assault by Kahane and a hun-

dred of his goons on a group of Black students in the cafeteria of Brooklyn College. The alleged reason for this Nazi-like attack was that Black students had broken a Hebrew recording in the cafeteria juke box.

The JDL's chauvinism is not confined to Black people; it extends equally to Arabs. Thus, in May 1970, three leaders of Arab organizations were severely beaten by groups armed with weighted clubs. Asked if the JDL took credit for the beatings, Kahane said: "If we did we'd be open to all sorts of problems. You can quote me in exactly that manner." (*New York Times*, May 23, 1970.)

Not even Jewish organizations are exempt from the JDL's gangsterism. In April of this year a JDL mob forced its way into the offices of the New York Board of Rabbis and committed considerable damage. The reason, they said, was that the Board had refused to provide bail for one Avraham Hershkovitz, a JDL official who was arrested with his wife at Kennedy Airport when they sought to board a London-bound United Arab Airlines plane with guns hidden in their clothing. Hershkovitz was sentenced to five years in prison for making false statements in his passport application.

There are indications that what was involved was an attempted plane hijacking. And what is especially remarkable is the way in which this case, in contrast to that of the Soviet hijackers, has been hushed up by U.S. authorities, the communications media and the Jewish organizations.

Kahane: A Would-Be Fuehrer

Such is the despicable crew which parades itself as "defenders" of the Jewish people. It has all the earmarks of a fascist gang—irresponsible warmongering, pathological anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, extreme racism and chauvinism, and hoodlumism as a way of life. And the career of its mentor, Meir Kahane, is one befitting a would-be fuehrer.

Kahane's story is one of a series of unsuccessful efforts to become a big shot in the service of reaction. Indeed, the Jewish Defense League can be said to be his first "success."

A graduate of a Yeshiva and an ordained rabbi, he sought unsuccessfully to convert a Conservative congregation to Orthodox Judaism and found it necessary to leave after two years. He obtained a law degree from New York Law School but failed the bar examination. He went to Israel, hoping to achieve a position of importance there, but returned with his ambitions unfulfilled. He became a writer for the *Jewish Press*, a sensationalist, ultra-reactionary weekly tabloid published in New York. Later, for undisclosed reasons, he publicly parted company with it.

Some of his articles were written under the pen name of Michael King. Subsequently, in 1965, when he formed an association with one Joseph Churba, a personal friend and also a rabbi, he assumed the alias of "Michael King" altogether. There followed a period in which the two tried, though with little success, to peddle themselves as "research" experts. Kahane became associated for a time with the House Un-American Activities Committee as an "expert" on Soviet Jewry.

The two formed a "July Fourth Movement" to support the war of aggression in Vietnam—an organization which consisted only of themselves and which got little response. Later they published a book called *The Jewish Stake in Vietnam,* whose authors were listed as Joseph Churba, Meir Kahane and Michael King. It sold 3,000 copies. Finally, in 1968 Kahane dropped his efforts and his alias to found the Jewish Defense League, a venture which has proven much more rewarding, both financially and in terms of notoriety.

During the past two years, Kahane has been constantly in the public eye, and the communications media have lavished publicity on the despicable performances of his followers. Having thus established his own notoriety, Kahane is now busily seeking to forge alliances with other disreputable characters such as the reputed underworld figure Joseph A. Colombo, Sr., founder of the so-called Italian-American Civil Rights League. One of this organization's chief aims is to supply a respectable image for underworld leaders, and it has also attracted the support of the infamous New Jersey racist Anthony Imperiale, among others. Kahane has also become associated with the

discredited Black figure, Dr. Thomas Matthew, head of the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization, a "self-help" group. At a meeting with Kahane, Matthew stated that the two had discussed the attitude of the JDL toward Black people and had reached a "clear-cut understanding that the JDL is not anti-Black." (*New York Times,* May 19, 1971.) In the light of the JDL's record, this is truly a remarkable "understanding."

The JDL has had little success, however, in enlisting the direct support of Jewish organizations. Its requests for funds have been universally refused. Moreover, it has been condemned by all major Jewish organizations and by many Jewish leaders. Thus, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has labeled it "a group of self-appointed vigilantes whose protection the Jewish community does not need or want." Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath referred to it as a group of "goon squads" and compared it to the Ku Klux Klan. The New York Division of the American Jewish Congress called on U.S. Jews "to repudiate the lawless and self-defeating conduct of the Jewish Defense League." Its president, Edward D. Moldover, characterized it in these words: "Under the guise of supporting law and order, the Jewish Defense League has committed unprovoked assault, falsified documents, destroyed property, interrupted religious services, endangered patrons and performing artists at concerts, harassed officials of foreign countries, hailed bombings of public buildings and consistently disobeyed lawful commands of police officers."

A Slap on the Wrist

The JDL has also been condemned by leading government officials and others. Yet it has continued to carry on its outrageous activities with little serious hindrance. True, there have been arrests and indictments. On the occasion of the attack on Amtorg, 27 were arrested on charges of criminal trespass. In the invasion of the New York Board of Rabbis, 23 were arrested on similar charges. In January of this year two JDL leaders were indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of using fic-

titious names in purchasing three rifles. In April, as we have noted, Kahane and several others were charged with conspiring to transport an arsenal of pistols and rifles across state lines and to make explosive and incendiary devices.

These arrests and indictments, however, have proved to be hardly more than a slap on the wrist. The courts have been exceedingly gentle with JDL defendants, and Kahane himself has suffered only one conviction, for obstructing governmental administration and disorderly conduct. For this he was sentenced to 90 days in prison or a $500 fine. He elected to pay the fine. And in the explosives conspiracy case referred to above, he was able to make a deal absolving six of the nine defendants altogether, while the three who pleaded guilty may themselves well get off with no prison sentence. Meanwhile the JDL continues its criminal activities without letup while the authorities pretend an inability to stop them.

The failure to protect Soviet property and personnel has led to repeated protests by the Soviet government. Finally, on December 11, 1970 the U.S. ambassador to the USSR was handed a note stating that the visits to the United States of the Bolshoi opera and ballet companies, scheduled for the spring of this year, were being cancelled. The reason given was "provocations perpetrated by Zionist extremists against Soviet institutions in the United States, as well as against Soviet artistic groups." On January 5, 1971 a second note was delivered, calling attention to the continued failure of U.S. authorities to protect Soviet facilities and personnel. It stated: "Zionist extremists not only interfere with the normal functioning of the Soviet representatives in the United States, but also venture to threaten openly Soviet diplomats and other Soviet citizens with physical reprisals." Moreover, the note charged, though the U.S. government had promised protection, it was in fact "conniving at criminal actions" with those perpetrating them. Under these circumstances, it warned, the United States could hardly expect the assurance of normal working conditions for U.S. premises in the USSR. And in fact there did take place some retaliatory acts of harassment of U.S. personnel in Moscow.

It should be noted that it is not only Soviet institutions and

personnel which have been affected. Arab and African representatives in the UN have called attention to terrorist acts against their UN missions. Thus Ambassador Mohammed Alwan of Iraq, as reported by Winston Berry in his weekly newsletter *United Nations Report* (December 23, 1970), spoke of attacks by the JDL on Arab UN missions and on the quarters of other Arab organizations. He demanded to know why these elements, which had terrorized diplomatic missions and had even attempted to hijack a plane, were left free to pursue such activities without government restraint. The Arab and African representatives raised the question of moving the UN headquarters to another country which could guarantee the security of UN missions and representatives.

To be sure, in the face of bombings of Soviet installations and repeated harassment of Soviet and other personnel, President Nixon was compelled to express "regrets" and to promise that steps would be taken to end the attacks. And last January, when these outrages became especially numerous, New York City's Mayor John V. Lindsay promised action against the JDL and announced impending grand jury investigations. A few arrests and indictments followed, but since then nothing more has been heard of the matter.

In short, government authorities have failed to take even a semblance of measures adequate to curb Kahane and his fascist cohorts. And this failure stands in glaring contrast to the vindictive, murderous assaults on the Black Panthers and other Black militants, and to the frame-up charges against them—and in particular against the heroic Black Communist woman Angela Davis—charges of which juries are now finding them innocent. Moreover, while Kahane and his pals are permitted their freedom under nominal bail or on their personal recognizance, these Black victims of racist persecution have been held in prison for months and even years either without bail or—what amounts to the same thing—under astronomically high bail.

From the extreme leniency toward the JDL one can only conclude that the Soviet government was fully justified in charging "connivance at criminal actions" with these elements. And indeed, the monopolist rulers of our country and their

political spokesmen—notably the Nixons, Agnews and their ilk—are not basically hostile to the JDL. On the contrary, they fully share its anti-Sovietism and racism. And they find such fascist gangs useful in the pursuit of their policies of aggression abroad and repression at home, just as the German monopolists once found Hitler's Brown Shirts useful. Hence the spectacle of the all-powerful U.S. government "unable" to protect the property or personnel of foreign countries here, or to curb the criminal conduct of a group of petty hoodlums. And hence their freedom to carry on activities designed to exacerbate U.S.-Soviet relations and sharpen the danger of war.

The Anti-Soviet Crusade

This brings us to the crux of the matter. The emergence of the JDL and its rise to notoriety at this time is not an accidental phenomenon. On the contrary, it is the logical outcome of the campaign of vilification and slander of the Soviet Union, based on the Big Lie of official "Soviet anti-Semitism" and persecution of Soviet Jews, which has in recent years been built to a pitch of near-hysteria in this country. It is the logical outcome, furthermore, of the fact that this disgraceful campaign is spearheaded by all of the "respectable" Jewish organizations and leaders.

The American Jewish Congress, at its convention in the spring of 1970. gave it top priority. Other mass organizations have followed suit. An American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry has been in existence for some years, representing all major Jewish organizations. Accompanying it is an Academic Committee on Soviet Jewry. Also deeply involved is the Israeli government and its representatives here. At the center of the campaign is the demand that the Soviet government permit Soviet Jews to migrate to Israel, under the slogan "Let my people go." This slogan the JDL has in common with the entire Jewish establishment; hence the differences between them are at bottom purely tactical. They are differences over how best to get Jews out of the Soviet Union.

But this unholy crusade is based on a fraud—on a Big Lie

endlessly repeated and elaborated with the aim of winning popular acceptance. Its sources lie in the circles of Right-wing reaction. Thus, one of its most prominent instigators was the late Senator Thomas J. Dodd, a rabid Red-baiter who, like others of his kind, was caught with his fingers in the till and was censured by the U.S. Senate. The State Department has given this crusade its fullest support and encouragement from the start, and it has the blessings of the FBI, the CIA and other such agencies of repression and subversion. And it has attracted some of the worst racists and anti-Semites in the country, whose hearts now bleed for Jews—in the Soviet Union. Clearly, all these forces are motivated not by concern for the welfare of Soviet Jews but by hatred of the Soviet Union. It is in such an unsavory campaign, which is against the best interests of the Jewish people, that Jewish organizations and leaders have assumed the leading role.

The Soviet government, it is charged, pursues a deliberate policy of anti-Semitism—of discrimination against Jews in all aspects of life, of denial of their right to live as Jews, of persecuting and imprisoning those who seek to do so. *Congress Bi-Weekly,* organ of the American Jewish Congress, speaks of "'the Soviet inquisition of Jews" and refers to the Soviet Jews as "a captive people." (January 22, 1971.) Some of the accusers go so far as to liken the condition of Soviet Jews to that of Jews under Hitler, and to speak of genocide.

But this is so glaringly false that even anti-Soviet spokesmen have been impelled to repudiate it. C. L. Sulzberger, in a *New York Times* column datelined Moscow (July 1, 1970), states that "the regime itself is not committed to internal anti-Semitism" and that "real anti-Semitism is concentrated among relatively few bigots." *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman writes (December 27, 1970): "There is certainly no wave of officially-inspired anti-Semitism sweeping the Soviet Union" (though there are, he says, individual instances of anti-Semitism). Nahum Goldmann, head of the World Jewish Congress, has repeatedly noted that Soviet Jews enjoy equal civil and human rights with all other Soviet citizens and has warned against distortions on this point.

Limitations of space prohibit a detailed refutation of specific allegations in this pamphlet. For this the reader is referred to other sources.* Here we shall confine ourselves to the question of emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel.

Today the anti-Soviet offensive, as we have noted, is geared to the slogan "Let my people go." Not only are Jews persecuted in the USSR, it is charged; they are also forbidden to leave in order to escape their persecution. Not only are they prohibited from "living as Jews"; they are also forbidden to migrate to Israel where they may do so. The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights is invoked, which assures to everyone the "right to leave any country, including his own."

It is true that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries restrict emigration, not only of Jews but of all citizens. Emigration is not regarded as an automatic right. Why such a policy? One reason is the long-standing efforts of the ruling class in the capitalist countries, motivated by implacable hostility to socialism, to undermine the economies of the socialist countries in every possible way. Among other things, they have sought to drain these countries of skilled, technical and scientific personnel, as well as to acquire a succession of defectors to be used as propaganda instruments against the socialist lands. The CIA and other official agencies of subversion devote much energy and money to achieving these aims. Bribery and other inducements are not uncommon. Under such circumstances, to allow unrestricted emigration would be fatal to the building of socialism.

Secondly, in the socialist countries all higher education is free and in addition students receive a stipend. Technical or professional training is viewed as part of the process of building the new society—a process in which society advances the individual

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* See, for example, *Soviet Jews, Fact and Fiction,* published by Novosti Press Agency, Moscow and distributed in the U.S. by Imported Publications, 1730 W. Arcade Place, Chicago, Ill. 60612 (25 cents per copy). See also this author's article "The Truth about the Lies at Brussels," *World Magazine,* March 31, 1971; also appearing in part in *Jewish Affairs,* January and February-March 1971, published by the Communist Party U.S.A., 23 West 26 Street, New York, N. Y. 10010 (25 cents per copy).

and the individual is in turn considered to have an obligation to use this advancement for the benefit of society. Education is not regarded as a personal property to be peddled abroad for personal gain.

Every request for an exit permit is therefore considered in the light not only of individual desires and interests but also of the country as a whole, both at home and in world relations. With respect to migration to Israel the Soviet government takes into account, among other things, the situation created by Israeli aggression and the interests of the Arab countries which are victims of that aggression.

The Israeli government has been carrying on a policy of de facto annexation of the occupied territories and of seeking to populate them with Jews. There have been numerous public expressions of this aim. Among the more explicit is the complaint of the Jewish Agency, in its report to the 27th Congress of the World Zionist Organization in 1968, of "having to populate with Jews the newly liberated areas" in the face of the slowing down of immigration to a mere trickle.

It is very largely this which underlies the officially sponsored campaign of anti-Soviet slander in Israel with its slogan "Let my people go." But the Soviet government considers that the conquered territories do not belong to Israel and must be returned to the Arab countries from which they were taken. Hence it does not propose to lend itself to schemes for helping to secure their annexation through wholesale immigration of Soviet Jews. Nor does it propose to supply soldiers to the Israeli army for purposes of aggression.

At the same time, the Soviet government has by no means completely cut off emigration to Israel. Over a period of years there has been a steady flow of such emigrants (not a few of whom later sought to return to the Soviet Union). After the 1967 war the flow was sharply reduced, but more recently it has been greatly stepped up. In the first five months of 1971 alone, according to Israeli Premier Golda Meir, some 6,000 Soviet Jews arrived in Israel.

Undoubtedly, if the situation in the Middle East improves, the Soviet Union will modify its policies accordingly. But it does not

follow that if the barriers were completely lowered there would be a mass exodus of Soviet Jews. The estimates being peddled here that a quarter of a million have applied for exit permits and that half a million or more would leave if they could are based on no authentic evidence and represent little more than wishful thinking. And those Soviet Jews engaged in the current clamor for emigration to Israel, despite the efforts to inflate their numbers, are but a comparative handful.

Nor is it true that these are being imprisoned and otherwise persecuted simply because they wish "to live as Jews." The twenty or so who have been convicted and imprisoned were charged with clear-cut violations of Soviet law, including the very serious crime of airplane hijacking (punishable by death in the United States). Of those not charged with criminal acts, a substantial number have already been permitted to leave the country.

But the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews consider the Soviet Union their homeland and have no desire whatever to leave it. They are proud to be Soviet citizens and many of them have emphatically said so to their would-be rescuers. And with good reason. The transformation from the ghettos and pogroms of Tsarist days to the full equality and freedom which Soviet Jews enjoy today is an achievement little short of miraculous.

Soviet Jews are in no need of "liberation." Those who want to go to Israel will undoubtedly sooner or later get there. There should be no illusions, however, that this will put a stop to the clamor about "Soviet anti-Semitism." That will happen only as a result of a determined struggle against such anti-Soviet slander.

The vociferous crusade now being conducted here is a fraudulent one. It diverts the Jewish people from the struggle against racism and anti-Semitism in this country and instead ties them to the forces of aggressive imperialism and Right-wing reaction—to those forces which are the very source of these evils. And it inevitably gives rise to such monstrosities as the JDL, which is but a Jewish counterpart of the ultra-Right elements whose stock-in-trade includes anti-Sovietism as one of its chief ingredients. It follows that if one wishes seriously to put an end to JDL

hoodlumism, one must first part company with the anti-Sovietism which gives birth to it.

The roots of this upsurge of anti-Sovietism within the Jewish community lie in the greatly increased influence of Zionism, and in the intensely emotional, almost fanatical adherence to the policies of the Israeli government, which have developed beginning with the 1967 war. These are policies of an aggressive, expansionist character looking, as we have noted, to the annexation of the conquered territories and pursued with the encouragement and assistance of U.S. imperialism. It is these policies which have deadlocked the current negotiations for peace because of the Israeli government's adamant refusal to commit itself to withdrawal from the occupied territories, even in the face of the offer of a peace treaty by the UAR. And it is these policies which are tying Israel ever more tightly to the reactionary line of the Nixon Administration in the Middle East.

Support of such policies has given rise to a marked Rightward, pro-imperialist trend in the Jewish community, expressed not only in the rise of anti-Sovietism but in other respects as well. One of these is the widespread abandonment by Jewish organizations and leaders of the fight against the Indochina war. Some groups, such as the Zionist Organization of America, the Jewish War Veterans and the organization of the Orthodox rabbis have, like Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan, openly supported Nixon's criminal war of aggression. And, of course, so has the JDL. Others, though not so outspoken, have exerted pressure to suppress Jewish participation in peace activities. Rabbi Balfour R. Brickner, himself an active opponent of the Indochina war, last year noted with dismay that "many American Jewish 'peaceniks' who only a few months ago were conspicuously vocal in opposition to their government's conduct of the war in Vietnam now seem to have lost their tongues, silenced by a fear . . . that such criticism might jeopardize American political or military support for Israel." He adds: "The silence of Jewish spokesmen is deafening." ("Vietnam and the Jewish Community," *Christian Century,* April 29, 1970.) Here again the JDL simply expresses in an extreme form the tendency prevalent in "respectable" Jewish circles.

Rise of Racism and Chauvinism

Another consequence of the heightened influence of poisonous Zionist ideology is an alarming growth of racism and chauvinism within the Jewish community. Anti-Arab chauvinism in its most virulent forms has reached disturbing proportions. And the rise of white chauvinism has dangerously undermined Jewish-Black relations.

Today the alarm is being sounded in many Jewish circles of an alleged upsurge of a new anti-Semitism—an "anti-Semitism of the Left." Lothar Kahn, writing in the *Congress Bi-Weekly* of March 6, 1970, spells it out in these words:

> For the first time in modern history, the Jew is imperiled from both the Left and the Right. . . . For the Left, the anti-Jewish course is hidden under the political label of anti-Zionism. It has been used by much of the Marxist camp, the so-called neutrals, and by Black Power groups and their sympathizers. It has served as a respectable political cover by Arabs inflaming their people to a new frenzy, by Communist states frustrated by their inability to assimilate Jews fully and exterminate every vestige of religious-cultural identity, by African nations eager to prove their solidarity with the anti-imperialist, socialist Soviet-Nasser bloc, by American black extremists merging their pro-Moslem bias with the charge of Jewish capitalism and exploitation.

The *New York Times* (November 29, 1969) cites Nahum Goldmann as speaking in a similar vein. It reports:

> In place of the "classic anti-Semitism of old-line reactionary forces," extremist elements of the New Left have engaged in such forms of anti-Semitism as attacking Zionism and equating Israel with "colonial imperialism," Dr. Goldmann said.

The device is obvious: to be anti-Zionist (or even to oppose the policies of the Israeli government) is to be anti-Semitic. On

these spurious grounds the Soviet government, since it opposes Zionism, is declared to be anti-Semitic. And the anti-Zionism and pro-Arab sympathies which are widespread among Black Americans are declared to be evidences of a menacing "Black anti-Semitism."

This fiction of "Black anti-Semitism" has been magnified into a monstrous threat to U.S. Jews. Now, indeed, it is none other than the Black Americans who are alleged to be the persecutors of the Jews. Thus Milton Himmelfarb writes in *Commentary* (March 1969):

> Is the president of the teacher's union a Jew? Then call him a Zionist and warn him that he will not be allowed to perpetrate in Harlem the genocide that the Israelis are supposed to be perpetrating in the Middle East. . . .
>
> If that is not bad enough, the quota system is being introduced. Or reintroduced—only this time not, as in the universities and professional schools of the 1920s, to keep those pushy Jews (greasy grinds) from dispossessing the gentlemen, but to do justice to Negroes.

Here the quota systems imposed on Jews by the dominant Anglo-Saxon ruling-class elements are flatly equated with the efforts of the oppressed Black people to secure some degree of equality in education through compensatory measures. The fact that they have suffered discrimination infinitely worse than that ever imposed on Jews is totally ignored. The mere demand for a higher percentage of Black administrators, teachers and college students becomes the imposition of a quota system on Jews. To such depths have spokesmen of the Jewish establishment sunk!

Not surprisingly, the major Jewish organizations and spokesmen have avoided the struggles against the brutal persecution of the Black Panthers and other Black militants. And they have totally boycotted the fight for the freedom of Angela Davis. The rationale for this may be found in an article by Judd Teller in *Congress Bi-Weekly* (November 20, 1970). He writes:

> Even if it were true that the Black Panthers are the vic-

tims of a judicial conspiracy—and this is yet to be proven, even as their guilt is yet to be proven—there are a number of questions that a Jew should consider before striking an instant liberal posture. Is there not good reason to fear that the monies for the Black Panthers' defense will be deflected to their political purposes, even as were the moneys raised by the Communists in the 1930s for the defense of both real and fictitious victims of that time?

Apart from his slanderous allegations, Mr. Teller finds fictitious stories of political repression in the Soviet Union real, and real cases of repression in the United States fictitious or questionable. He goes on to say:

> The abstention of Jews from contributing to the Black Panthers' defense or from conducting their defense will not jeopardize the outcome of their case. Jews are a very small percentage of the population. . . . Moreover, the Black Panthers are anti-Israel and anti-Jewish. Beneath all the euphemisms the two positions remain identical.

That they are victims of racist persecution and frame-ups (which the actions of juries in freeing them are now making clear to everyone), and therefore deserve to be defended by all who are seriously anti-racist, is apparently of no matter. And anyhow, the weight of the Jewish community is inconsequential—a specious argument which, interestingly, is not cooked up when it comes to "freeing" Soviet Jews.

True, the anger and resentment among Black people have at times found expression in anti-Semitic utterances. But studies have shown that anti-Semitism is distinctly less pronounced among Black people than among whites. Moreover, as a statement on the subject by the New York State Communist Party points out:

> It is not the Black people who are the source of anti-Semitism. It is not they who are responsible for the flood of anti-Semitic filth which befouls the country. It is not they

who are guilty of the economic and social discrimination against Jews which exists in our country.

In a word, it is not the Black people who are the oppressors of the Jews. On the contrary, it is the white power structure, including a small sector of Jewish capitalists, which maintains and benefits from the oppression of Black people.

To fail to see these things is to divert the very fight against anti-Semitism into a racist blind alley. It is to fall victim to those who would use the fraud of "Black anti-Semitism" as one more club against Black Americans. (*Daily World*, February 19, 1969).

In a word, the fraud of "Black anti-Semitism" serves to align the Jewish people with the forces of reaction and to divert them from the struggle against their real enemies. And here, once more, the rabid hostility of the JDL to all Black militants represents the carrying of this all too widely prevalent fraud to its ultimate extreme.

How to Combat the JDL

It is not accidental, therefore, that in spite of all their verbal condemnations of the JDL, the "respectable" Jewish elements have done almost nothing to put a stop to its disgraceful and dangerous activities. Since they themselves subscribe to the slanders of "Soviet anti-Semitism" and "Black anti-Semitism," they can be critical of the JDL only on tactical grounds—on the grounds that while its aims are noble, its methods will not achieve them.

There is, in fact, a not inconsiderable body of sympathy with the JDL in many quarters, Jewish and non-Jewish. On April 24 and 26 of this year the Yiddish newspaper *The Day-Jewish Journal* carried a by no means unfriendly interview with Kahane. *Look* recently published an article by its senior editor, Gerald Astor ("The Agonized American Jews," April 20, 1971), which treats Kahane and the JDL as a legitimate current in the Jewish community, on a par with the American Jewish Congress and

the New Left. Many other instances can be cited.

Particularly significant are the events which took place at the international conference for the "liberation" of Soviet Jews held in Brussels last February. Kahane appeared on the scene and asked to address the conference. He was refused admittance and was subsequently expelled from the country. But this, according to the *New York Times* of February 25, "threw the conference into an uproar, embarassed its organizers and sharpened a split between a majority favoring peaceful pressure on the Soviet government and those who think that violence is necessary."

It is this widespread toleration of the JDL and even sympathy toward it, coupled with the deliberate leniency of the government authorities, that makes it a far greater menace than is indicated by the small number of its active adherents. Here lies the source of the significant behind-the-scenes support, political and financial, that enables it to carry on its reprehensible activities, verbal denunciations notwithstanding.

The JDL has become an increasingly dangerous instrument of the forces of reaction, and there is good reason to suspect that it operates as a direct tool of the CIA in its anti-Soviet intrigues. It is imperative, therefore, that an all-out struggle be conducted to put this fascist clique out of business. Fascist hoodlumism, anti-Communism, warmongering and rabid racism are no less abhorrent when their promoters are Jews.

But this is not an isolated struggle. The JDL is the inevitable spawn of the anti-Sovietism and racism prevalent in wide sections of the Jewish community, and it cannot be effectively combatted without also combatting these roots of its existence. The fraud of "'Soviet anti-Semitism" must be thoroughly exposed and an end must be put to the disgraceful crusade into which the Jewish people have been drawn. The racist fraud of "Black anti-Semitism" must equally be exposed and an all-out fight must be waged to root out racism among the Jewish people, to involve them fully in the struggles against the oppression of Black people. And in particular, the shameful boycott of the fight to free Angela Davis must be ended.

It is also necessary to combat the reactionary, racist influence

of Zionism, of which the JDL and its supporters represent the extreme Right wing. The masses of Jewish working people are not Zionists, but the Zionist leaders have succeeded to a considerable degree in perverting their healthy sentiments of national consciousness and pride and their concern for the well-being of Jews everywhere, and in infecting them with the virus of reactionary bourgeois nationalism. It follows that Jewish working people can be won away from these poisonous influences if a serious effort is made to do so.

It is particularly essential to fight against the blind support in U.S. Jewish circles for the Israeli government's policies of aggression and annexation and its growing dependence on U.S. imperialism. And the aggressive policies of the Nixon Administration in the Middle East must be opposed no less than its aggression in Indochina.

It is the unfolding of such struggles among the Jewish people that is demanded in the interests of world peace, of freedom and democracy, and in the best interests of the Jewish people themselves. And it is on the basis of such struggles that powerful blows will be struck against the JDL and other exponents of fascist reaction in our country.

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